



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

## THE VERB FORMS CIRCUMSCRIBED WITH THE PERFECT PARTICIPLE IN THE BEOWULF

The purpose of this investigation is to study the Verb Forms circumscribed with the perfect participle in the Beowulf as to their State, Origin and Use.

A glance at our bibliography will show that in the past a number of investigators have tried to explain the verb forms circumscribed with the perfect participle in various periods of the English language.

Their method of procedure has usually been as follows. First, they counted instances of the use of the inflected and uninflected participles; and, finding that the same participle occurred sometimes with and sometimes without inflection they concluded, that the presence or the absence of inflection of the perfect participle did not involve a difference in meaning. It was merely an arbitrary matter depending upon the proximity or the relative position of the perfect participle to the word which it modified. (Smith § 138, Note) Second, by grouping the circumscribed forms over against the simple forms i. e. the perfect and pluperfect vs. preterit, they tried to explain the use of the circumscribed forms. The result was they found that the circumscribed forms in the period of the English language they were investigating corresponded in the most cases to the modern English circumscribed forms. However, there were some instances that could not be explained (Anglia xviii, 389).

Thorough as these investigations are and as useful as they are, their results are not satisfactory. As to the inflection of the perfect participle, we find the same participle in the same relative position to the object or the subject, inflected in the one case and uninflected in the other. As to the uses the method indicated above fails to explain a number of them.

The reasons why these investigations could not arrive at any satisfactory results are:

- 1) they did not try to explain the origin of these circumscribed forms and thus arrive at the underlying principle that governs them. They proceeded in a merely statistical manner.
- 2) disregarding the element of time and place, they treated authors who lived in different parts of England and in different

centuries, as if the English language had been stagnant in the use of its tenses from the 9th. to the 12th. century (Anglia, xviii) and as if all the people in England spoke absolutely in the same manner. This method is particularly pernicious in this case, since the written documents were not numerous and, therefore, the authors, not being bound to any literary traditions, could exercise great freedom and borrow freely from the ordinary spoken language.

3) they limited their investigation merely to the circumscribed past tenses (Perf. and Pluperf.) and did not take into consideration the present and the preterit tense circumscribed with the perfect participle.

In the present investigation we shall not make much use of statistics; nor shall we try to include many authors who lived in different parts of England and in different centuries. Statistics, it seems to us, would merely indicate whether an author had a preference for one form of expression or another. They could not help us determine the origin or the use of the circumscribed forms. The question of tenses is to a great extent a subjective question, reflecting the author's point of view. *Therefore we must interpret rather than count instances.* And since this is a subjective question it seems to us that to include many authors, especially if they were separated in locality and time would only confuse the issue.

Therefore we have confined this investigation to the Beowulf alone. Since, however, the Beowulf per se does not enable us to solve our question, we determined upon the following method of procedure. The circumscribed verb forms are much clearer in the Old-Saxon Heliand and cast much more light upon their origin and original use, than do those in the Beowulf. Hence we decided to study the circumscribed verb forms in the Heliand first; and then to apply the results obtained to the Beowulf and make comparisons. The validity of this method will become apparent as we proceed.

#### PART I OLD SAXON

I. State of verb forms circumscribed with the perfect participle in Old-Saxon.

**A. Method of formation.**

In Old-Saxon we find circumscribed verb forms consisting of the inflected and the uninflected perfect participle and the present and preterit of the verbs: hebbian, uuesan, uuerdan,

**a) Active voice:**

1. hebbian:

754 Than *habde* ina craftag god  
*gineridan* uid iro nide—  
 2264 Tho *habda* sie that barn godes  
*ginerid* fan theru node—  
 5794 So thiu fri *habdun*  
 gegangan te them gardon—C.

2. uuesan:

2027 Ne *sint* mina noh  
 tidi *cumana*.  
 4619 Thiu uuurd is at handun,  
 thea tidi *sind* nu *ginahid*

3. uuerdan:

2728 Tho *uurdun* an themu gertale Iudeo cuninges  
 tidi *cumana*.

94. Tho uuard thiu tid cuman.

**b) Passive voice.**

1. uuesan:

4392 Kumad gi—the thar *gikorene sindun*  
 1833 the thar an erdagun  
 undar them liudskepea lereon *uuarun*  
*acoran* undar themu cunnie.

2. uuerdan:

3526 thar *uuerdat* mina hendi *gebundana*  
 fadmos *uuerdad* mi thar *gefastnod*.

In the active voice, therefore, transitive verbs take hebbian, while intransitive verbs take hebbian, uuesan or uuerdan. In the passive voice uuesan and uuerdan are used to form circumscriptions.

**B. Position of the perfect participle.**

The position of the perfect participle is not determined by any syntactical rule. It occurs both before and after the subject or object, both before and after the auxiliary.

**1) Before subject:**

5919 *gimerrid* uuarun iro thes *muodgithahti* C  
 4400 oft *uurdun* mi *kumana* tharod  
*helpa* fan iuuun handun

## 2) After subject:

4020 so uurdun thes godes barnes  
*kumi thar gikudid*  
 2138 Than scal Iudeono filu,  
 thes rikeas *suni berobode* uuerden

## 3) Before object:

3465 habda thu *farmerrid* thia *morganstunda* C  
 5746 habdun im *farseuuana sorogia* giniogia C

## 4) After object:

2056 Than habas thu nu uunderlico *uuerdskepi thinan*  
*gemarcod* far thesoro menigi  
 3792 habdun im *uiddersakon*  
*gihaloden* te helpu.

## 5) Before auxiliary:

5919 *gemerrid uuarun* iro thes muodgithahti C  
 2989 *bedrogan habbiad* sie dernea uuihti  
 3964 Thuo gifrang ik that thar te Criste *cumana uurdun*  
 bodon fan Bethaniu C

## 6) After auxiliary:

692 quadun that sea ti im *habdin giuuendit* hugi  
 56 that sia *habdon bithuungana*  
 thiedo gihuilica C

It would be useless to count and compare by statistics the number of perfect participles which occur before and after the subject, object or auxiliary. The Heliand is a poem and the word order may be shifted to suit the case. It suffices for us to show that the perfect participle can be used in all of these different positions.

## C. Inflection of the perfect participle.

From the examples given under B it is clear that there is no general absolute rule fixing the position of the perfect participle. Nor is there any rule relegating the inflected or the uninflected perfect participle to any particular position in the sentence. However, if we examine those cases in which we would normally expect the perfect participle to be inflected according to the general rule for the inflection of adjectives, we shall be able

1. to get an idea of the general state of the inflection of the perfect participle in the Heliand and
2. to arrive at some idea of what the inflection and non-inflection of the perfect participle is due to.

The following table needs no explanation. It groups the inflected and the uninflected perfect participles according to their relative position to the subject, object and auxiliary.

*Perfect Participle Follows Subject or Object***Uninflected**

1) Subj { uuesan } { uuerdan } -perf. part

365 uuarun cuman  
 1309 uuerdan gefullit  
 1672 sint gefratoot  
 1834 uuarun acoran  
 2224 uurdun giledit—C  
 3527 uuerdad gefastnod  
 3919 uuerdad gilestid  
 4619 sind ginahid  
 5670 uuurthun giopanod—C.  
 5800 uuurdun bifellun—C

2) hebbian—obj.—perf. part.  
 uuesan—subj.—perf. part.  
 uuerdan—subj.—perf. part.

151 h. unc binoman elleandadi  
 2056 h. uuerdskepi gemarcod  
 2264 h. sie generid  
 2517 h. muod gilatan—C.  
 2805 h. mareostan bihauuan  
 3032 h. sie biuuerid  
 4211 h. amahtscepi biuuendid  
 4326 h. thiod biuuorpen  
 4592 h. scattos githingod  
 5147 h. herron gisald  
 5130 h. craft (thiod) gisamnod  
 5419 h. uomos adelid—C.

1798 uuerdat antdon  
 himilportun anthlidan  
 3599 uurdun man faruuorpen  
 4020 uurdun kumi gikudid  
 717 uuarun man gihuuerban

**Inflected**

12 uurdun gikorana—C  
 561 sin cumanz (cuman—C!)  
 632 uuarun gifarana  
 1228 uuarun geuarana  
 1264 uuarun cumana  
 1318 uuesan genemnide  
 2225 (uurdun) cumana—C  
 3003 sind farlorane  
 3427 uuarun cumana—C  
 3526 uuerdat gibundana  
 4851 uurdun underbadode  
 5228 sind kumane  
 5761 uuurthun giscerida—C

754 h. ina gineridan  
 1151 h. se geuuarhtan  
 1266 h. nigunigetalde treuuafte  
 1325 h. achto getalda salda gesagda  
 1482 h. sundea giuuarhta  
 1957 h. uuilleon giuuarhten  
 2990 h. sie binumane  
 3792 h. uuidersakon gihaloden  
 4147 h. ina gikoranan  
 5164 h. hugi undergripanen  
 5413 h. man gispanana  
 5865 h. sia furfarana—C

2709 uuarun kind odana—C (M—  
 odan)  
 5118 uuarun fadmos gibundene  
 2061 sint druhtingos druncane  
 2027 sint tidi cumana  
 4458 sind tidi kumana  
 4932 uuarun gisidos gisuikane  
 2728 uurdun gertale cumana  
 3526 uuerdat hendi gibundana  
 3633 uuerdad iunga kumane  
 4466 uurdun eosagon kumane  
 4850 uurdun underbadode

## 3) S-part.—uuerdun (uuesun)

Obj.-part.—h.

94	that gitald h.	991	ina gicorananh.
423	sie gimanod h.		
1296	the gicoran h.		
3736	kopstedi gicoran h.		
4806	mi farkopot h. (sundea loaan gisald)		

## 80 gibithig uuerthan—C.

17	gicoranana uurdun—C
350	thea cumana uuarun
558	sulica cumana uurdun
2139	suni berobode uuerden
3218	thea giskeride sind
3319	gi gidiuride uuesen
4392	the gikorane sindun
4825	sie kumane uurdun

## 4) Obj.-h.-part.

253	sea h. gimahlit	293	sie h. giocana
297	magad h. gibohit	2902	the h. gicorane
5647	thena h. giscerid farspanan	3037	the h. gicorane
5736	stedi h. gihauuan		

*Perfect Participle Precedes Subject or Object*

## 5) h.-part.-obj.

uuerdan (uuesan)-part-subj.

692	h. giuendid hugi	56	h. bethungana thiedo—C
3466	h. farmerrid morganstunda—C	5746	h. farseuuana sorogia
2455	uuerdid farloran spraka	2450	uuerdad farlorana lera
		2826	sind gesetana burgi
		4400	uuurdun kumana helpa
		5761	uurthun giscerida uueros—C
		5873	uurthun cumana uuardos—C

## 6) Part.-h.-obj.

part uuerdan (uuesan)-subj.

105	gifrumid h. uuilleon	3703	kumana sind tidi
2337	forgeban h. mahti	—C.	3964 cumana uurdun bodon—C.
2989	bedrogen h. sie		
5919	gimerrid uuarun muodgithahti		

## 1. General state of inflection and non-inflection of the perfect participle in Old-Saxon.

It is clear from the above table that the perfect participle occurs both in the inflected and the uninflected form. The pro-

portion is about 50% inflected and 50% uninflected in those cases in which we should normally expect inflection according to the general rule for adjective inflection. However, the circumscriptions with uuerdan and uuesan seem to prefer the inflected form of the perfect participle. About 75% of the perfect participles are inflected and 25% uninflected. The circumscriptions with hebbian seem to prefer the uninflected form. About 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % are uninflected, while 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % are inflected.

2. What was the inflection and non-inflection of the perfect participle due to?

The perfect participle was originally an adjective and inflected like an adjective. In the Heliand, however, in about 50% of the cases in which we would normally expect inflection according to the general rule for adjective inflection, the inflection is lacking. Now what was this dropping of the adjective inflection due to?

a) Was it due to the relative position of the perfect participle to the word which it modified? Examples like—

754 Than habde ina craftag god gineridan uuid iro nide  
 2264 Tho habda sie that barn godes ginerid fan theru nodi  
     and  
 1296 them the he te theru spracu tharod Krist alouualdo gecoran habda  
 3037 the iungaron the he imu habda be is gode gicorane—

show that neither proximity nor remoteness of the perfect participle to or from the word which it modifies has any influence on the inflection.

Furthermore types 1, 2, 3, 4 as compared with 5 and 6 in our table show that the position before or after the word which the perfect participle modifies had no influence on the inflection. We find inflected and uninflected perfect participles both before and after the words which they modify.

Therefore position cannot be said to have had any influence on the inflection of the perfect participle.

b) Was it due to the nature of the verb *per se*?

There are undoubtedly some perfect participles which cling to the inflection more tenaciously than others: kuman, kiosan, nerian, uuirkian. However, even some of these drop the inflection at times and other verbs fluctuate.

754-2264 nerian (see above)  
 1296-3037 kiosan (see above)  
 365 Siu uuarun is hiuiscas, *cuman* fon is cnosla

561 bihuui gi sin te thesun lande *cumana*. (C-cuman)  
 3703 that im *kumana* sind iro tidi touuardes  
 3526 thar uuerdar mina hendi *gebundana*  
     fadmos uuerdad mi *gefastnod*

Therefore, it is clear that the presence or the absence of inflection cannot be reduced to a certain class of verbs and be said to be due to the verb *per se*; though certain verbs cling to the inflection more than others.

As a consequence there are only two possibilities open to us: either 1) to assume that the perfect participle could drop its inflection on general principles because the tendency was inherent in the language; and that there was no difference between the inflected and the uninflected form, except perhaps a rhetorical one, such as "Satzmelodik," poetic license etc. This, however, seems to be begging the question. For, why did not adjectives enjoy the same liberty, especially when used with *uuerdan* or *uuesan*?

3919 Thesa qidi uuerdad *uuara* liudun *gilestid*

or 2) to assume that when the perfect participle is inflected it has adjective force, and when it is uninflected it has lost its adjective force. And that, therefore, there is a *subjective* difference involved. We accept this latter view.

#### D. Tense value of circumscribed verb forms.

##### 1. Inflected perfect participle.

The perfect participle was originally an adjective denoting state or condition resulting from the action of the verb. Hence we must assume that in all the circumscribed forms in which the perfect participle retained its inflection it was felt as an adjective and that, therefore, the tense of these circumscriptions was determined by the tense of the auxiliary. They were as a consequence either present or preterit.

hebbian:

754 than habde ina craftag god  
     gineridan uuid iro nide, that inan nahtes thanan  
     an Aegypteo land erlos antleddun, . . . .

Not: then God *had saved* him; but then God *saved* him i.e. had or kept him as a saved one, brought him into safety, so that (or in as much as) people conducted him to Aegypt. The time expressed in *habde gineridan* is not prior to but contemporaneous with, if indeed not later than, *antleddun*.

## Compare:

56 habdon bithuungana thiedo gihuilica—C  
 294 that sie habde giocana thes alloualdon craft  
 991 he ina gicoranan habdi  
 1151 habda enna se geuuarhtan  
 1266 Tho habda thero gumono thar  
     the neriendo Krist niguni getalde,  
     treuuafte man  
 1325 So habde tho uualdand Crist  
     for them erlon thar ahto getalda  
     salda gesagda:  
 1482 habed he sundea geuuarhta  
 1958 habad uilleon geuuarhten  
 2990 habbiad sie geuuitteu benumane  
 3037 the he habde gecorane C.f. 2902  
 3792 habdun uiidersakon gihaloden  
 4147 habdun ina gicoranen te thiu  
 5164 habdun hugi undergripanen  
 5413 habdun man alla gispanana—C  
 5746 habdun farseuuana sorogia—C  
 5865 habit sia furfarana C

## uuesan:

## a) Passive.

4392 Kumid gi . . . the thar gikorene sindun endi antfahad thit craftiga riki  
     that gode that thar gigereuuid stendid  
     (who *are chosen*, not who *have been chosen*)  
 3319 so motun gi thar gidiuride uuesen  
     (Not, verherrlicht worden sein, but verherrlicht sein)  
 C.f. 3219.  
 3002 im is helpono tharf  
     thea liudi *sind farlorane*, farlatan habbiad  
     uualdandes uuord, that uuerod is getiofid,  
     dribad im dernean hugi, ne uuilliad iro drohtine horieen  
     Israhelo erlskepi, ungilobiga sind  
     helidos iro herron: (*are lost*, not *have been lost*)  
 1318 thie motun uuesan suni drohtines genemnide.  
     (*genanni sein*; not *genannt worden sein*) (be called; not have been called)  
 5117 Stod that barn godes  
     fast under fiundun: *uuarun* imu is fadmos *gebundene*,  
     tholode mid githuldiun so huat so imu thiu thiod to  
     bittres brahte:  
     (were tied, not had been tied)  
 C.f. 2826.

## b) Active.

4931 *Uuarun* imu thea is diurion tho

gesidos *gesuikane*, al so he im er selbo gisprak:  
 Ni uuas it thoh be enigaru blodi, that sie that barn godes  
 lioben farletun, ac it uuas so lango biuoren  
 uuarsagono uuord that it scoldi giuuerden so:

His dear disciples were fled from him, as he predicted. It was not due to their own timidity that they fled, there existed long before the word of the prophets, that it would happen thus.

2060 Nu sind thina gesti sade,  
 sint thine druhtingos druncane suido  
 is thit folc fruomod:

(are satisfied—therefore: are quenched *not* have been quenched.)

1227 Sume uuaron sie im eft Iudeono cunnies,  
 fegni folcskepi: *uuaron* im thar *geuara* te thiу  
 that sie uses drohtines dadio endi uuordo  
 faron uuoldun, habdun im fegnien hugi  
 uureden uuillion:

(were come or gone there)

C.f. 632

3426 hiet thiem at erist geban  
 thia that lezt uuaron liudi cumana  
 ueros te them uuirke, endi mid is uuordon gibod  
 that man them mannon iro mieda forguldi  
 alles at aftan them thar quamun at erist tuo  
 uillendi te them uuerke.—C.

(Were come, not had come, since uuaron cumana is parallel to quamun)

Compare uuaron acumana 5876

uuaron cumana 5609–1264–350.

Gihugde (2663–2492–2446) and gehoriga (82–2982) are probably pure adjectives.

uuerdan:

a) Passive.

12 sia uurdun gicorana te thio  
 that sie than euangelium enan scoldun  
 an buok scriban.—C

(They were chosen i, e, became, entered into the state of being chosen ones)

17 sia gicorana uurdun C

2138 Than scal Iudeono filu,  
 thes rikeas suni berobode uuerden

2450 ac uuerdad thar so farlorana lera mina

3526 thar uuerdat mina hendi gebundana

4850 uurdun underbadode

5761 urthun giscerida C

b) Active.

3964 Thuo gifrang ik that thar te Criste *cumana uurdun*

bodon fan Bethaniu endi *sagdun* them barne godes  
 that sia an that arundi tharod idsi sendin,  
 (uuarun cumana and *sagdun* are in the same tense: i.e.  
 became such as are here and said)

Compare:

558 nio her er sulica cumana ni uurdun  
 2225 endi uurdun thar giledit tuo,  
 cumana te Criste—C  
 2728 uurdun tidi cumana  
 3633 uuerdad iunga kumane  
 4401 uurdun mi kumana tharod  
 helpa fan iuuun handun  
 4466 uurdun eosagon alle kumane  
 4825 antat sie te Criste kumane uurdun  
 5873 Thuo uurthun oc an thia burg  
 cumana Iudeono uuardos—C.

## 2. Uninflected perfect participle.

In order to understand the tense value of the circumscribed forms in which the perfect participle is not inflected, though the general rule for adjective inflection would demand inflection, we must begin with cases like the following:

3919 Thesa quidi werdad uuara  
 liudiu gilestid

Here the adjective *uuara* has retained its inflection. It must, therefore, be felt to belong to quidi. The perfect participle *gelestid* has lost its inflection and with it its adjective force. Hence, it cannot be felt to belong to quidi. The only alternative, then, is to construe it with *uuerdad*.

Now the perfect participle by its very nature denotes resultant state or completion; hence, since it cannot denote resultant state, owing to the fact that it had lost its adjective force, it must, since it belongs to the verb denote completed action. In other words, the circumscriptions with *hebbian* and *uuesan* and the uninflected perfect participle denote completed action in present or past time. They are therefore, perfect or pluperfect tenses. The cases with *uuerdan* and the uninflected perfect participle are present and past tenses; but differ from the cases with inflected perfect participles in so far as they denote completed action; whereas the former denote state or condition.

Our conclusion that the circumscriptions consisting of the uninflected perfect participle and some form of the verbs hebbian or uuesan are perfect or pluperfect tenses is confirmed by the fact that we find intransitive verbs circumscribed with hebbian and the uninflected perfect participle which are undoubtedly perfect and pluperfect tenses. Such forms mark a very advanced stage of tense development, as will be shown below. Thus we may be sure that perfect and pluperfect forms actually existed in Old-Saxon.

5794 So thiū fri habdun gegangen to them gardon

The following forms we interpret as denoting completed action:

hebbian:

Perfect

4808 Nu uuirdid sniumo herod  
cuman mid craftu the mi *farcopot habad*  
2056 Than *habas* thu nu uunderlico uuerdskepi thinan  
*gemarcod* far thesoro menigi  
151 habad unc eldi binoman elleandadi  
1960 habad antfangan fader iuuuan  
2517 habit gilatan—C.  
2989 bedrogan habbiad sie dernea uuihti

Pluperfect

3464 Sum thar oc an undern quam,  
habda thuo farmerrid thia morganstunda  
thes daguerkes forduolon—C.  
(Many a one came at noon had missed the morning hours the  
day's work. habda farmerrid, forduolon are prior to quam)  
5417 Thuo uuarth that cuth obar all  
huo thiū thiod habda duomos adelid—C  
(Then that became known everywhere how the people had cast the  
lots. Habda adelid is purely temporal and prior to uuarth cuth.)  
5146 tho bigan imu thiū dad aftar thiū  
an is hugea hreuuuan, that he habde is herron er  
sundea losen gisald (had sold)

Compare:

94 gitald habdun: 105 gifrumid habdi: 253 habda gimahlit:  
297 habda giboht: 423 gimanod habda: 692 habdin geuuend it:  
1296 gecoran habda: 2336 fargeban habdi: 2805 habde bi-  
hauuan:  
3033 habde biuuerid: 3736 gikoran habdun: 4211 habdun bi-  
uuendid:

4226 habde biuuorpen: 4594 habdi gethingod: 5736 habdun-  
gihauuan.—C

uuesan:

a) Passive.

Perfect

1671 Oc mugun gi an iuuuom hugi marcon  
uueros umbi iuuua geuuadi, huuo thei uurti sint  
fagoro gefratoot thea hir an felde stad,  
berhtlico gebloid.  
. . . have been beautifully arrayed (have flowered beautifully)  
. . . schön geschmückt worden sind (aufgeblüht sind)

Pluperfect

1830 Forstodun uuise man  
that he so lerde, liudeo drohtin  
uuarun uuordun so he geuuald habde,  
allun them ungelico the thar an' erdagun  
undar them liudskepea lereon *uuarun*  
*acoran* under themt cunnie:  
uuarun *acoran*—is clearly a pluperfect tense on account of *erdagun*.  
It does not mean who were chosen ones in former days, but who had been  
chosen in former days.  
5918 ne uuissa huarod siu sia uuendian scolda;  
*gimerrid uuarun* iro thes muodgithahti.—C  
. . . her thoughts had been confused—waren verwirrt worden.

b) Active.

Perfect

4619 Thiu uurd is at handun thea tidi *sind genahid*—have come.  
—have approached.

1672 has been discussed above

560 Gi sculun mi te uuarun seggean  
for thesun liudio folke, bihuui gi sin te thesun lande cumana  
“ “ “ “ “ “ cuman—C!

M-are come; C-have come

Pluperfect

365 Siu uuarun is hiuuiscas,  
cuman fon is cnosla, cunneas godes  
bediu bi giburdium.  
Uuarun cuman—is clearly a pluperfect tense here. Of course, the lack  
of inflection can also be explained on the ground that the subjects are  
masculine and feminine, i.e. common gender.  
715 Tho gefrang aftar thiu  
Herodes the cuning thar he an is rikea sat,  
that uuarun thea uuison man uestan gehuuorban  
ostar an iro odil endi forun im odran ueg:  
. . . that they had turned and were going.

uuerdan:

a) Passive

Present

3919 Thesa quidi uuerdad uuara  
liudiun gilestid.  
1798 than uuerdad iu andon aftar thiу  
himilpostun anthlidan  
79 ni muosta im erbiuuard  
an iro iuguthedi gibithig uuerthan—C  
1309 Thes motun sie uuerdan an them rikia drohtines  
gefullit thurh iro ferhton dadi

Preterit

2223 endi uurdun thar giledit tuo  
cumana te Criste, thar hie im thuru is craft mikil  
halp endi sia helda, endi liet sia eft gihaldana thanan  
uuendan an iro uuillion.—C  
Sie wurden herzugeleitet und wurden (deshalb) solche die zu Christo  
gekommen waren, i.e. zu Christo gekommen seiende.  
uurdun giledit—is preterit and denotes action and not state.  
( “ ) cumana denotes state.

Compare:

3599 uurdun faruuorpen  
4021 uurdun gikuidid  
5670 uuurthun giopanod—C.  
5800 uuurdun bifellun.—C

b) Active.

There are no instances in which the uninflected perfect participle occurs in the active with uuerdan. Probably because such forms would be identical in meaning with the simple verb.

The difference between the circumscribed form with inflected perfect participle and the circumscribed form, with uninflected perfect participle is, therefore, a subjective one; the former denoting state or condition, the latter denoting completed action. The following examples from the German and the English will help make the matter clear.

I have the letter written (State or condition—Present)

I have written the letter (Completed action—Perfect)

He war gone, when I arrived (State or condition—Preterit)

He had gone, “ “ “ (Completed action—Pluperfect)

The house was built, when I arrived (State or condition—Preterit)

The house had been built, when I arrived (Completed action—Pluperfect)

Compare also the German:

Die Tür wird geschlossen—denoting mere action.

“ “ ist “ — “ state or condition.

“ “ “ —worden—completed action.

In our discussion we have omitted all those cases in which the perfect participle would normally be uninflected. Such cases can be determined only from the context, and can be solved only by specialists in *Satzmelodik*, as Prof. Sievers.

## II. ORIGIN OF THE CIRCUMSCRIBED VERB FORMS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PURE TENSE FORMS

### A. Origin of the Circumscribed Verb Forms.

a) If we examine the *Heliand*, we shall find that the *Aktionsarten* (Aspects of the verb) were still a potent factor in Old-Saxon. The author of the *Heliand* is very discriminating in his treatment of the Perfective verbs (Perfective-inchoative-resultative) and Durative verbs.

- 1) Intransitive perfective verbs take *uuerdan* and *uuesan* in the circumscribed verb forms; intransitive durative verbs take *hebbian*.
- 2) Durative verbs are used with *biginnan*; perfective verbs are not.
- 3) Durative verbs can form a present participle; perfective verbs do not.
- 4) The perfect participle of *cuman* does not take the prefix *gi-*

These facts will suffice to show that the distinction between perfective and durative verbs was still felt in Old-Saxon at the time the *Heliand* was written.

b) On the other hand there is evidence that the “*Aktionsarten*” were not so keenly felt anymore as in times gone by. Our evidence is derived:

- 1) From the use of the simple and the compound verbs. Behaghel points out in his “*Syntax des Heliand*” §186 that under apparently similar conditions sometimes the simple sometimes the compound verb is used. He attributes this to the fact that such verbs contain both perfective and durative aspects or that in such

verbs neither the one nor the other aspect was clearly marked.

We, however, are inclined to believe that in many of these cases the simple verb had lost its perfective force (we are not concerned here with the durative verbs) and was felt as a mere tense form. Therefore, if the author wanted to impart the perfective force to the verb he had to form a compound. This seems especially clear in the case of verbs like *uerdan* and *giuuerdan*.

1373 So uuirdid them the that godes uuord scal mannon marean:  
3691 Uue uuard thi—thes thu te uuaarun ni uest  
thea urdegiskefti the thi noh giuuerden sculun

Or it may have been due to the fact that even the compound verb had lost its perfective force and was felt as a mere tense form; so that both the simple and the compound verb were mere tense forms.

- 2) from the use of the prefix *gi*. The prefix *gi* was originally the prefix par excellance for imparting perfective force to verbs. At the time the *Heliand* was written it must have lost its perfecting force to a great extent. In the perfect participle it must have been felt as a mere grammatical prefix in many cases, for the verb *gangan* takes *gi* in the perfect participle.
- 3) from the presence of actual perfect and pluperfect tenses, especially of intransitive verbs with *hebbian*. This will be shown below.

Hence we see that on the one hand the distinction between durative and perfective verbs was carefully observed in Old-Saxon; while on the other hand the perfective verbs were losing their perfective force. Or in different words, we can detect two tendencies in Old-Saxon, the one tending to break down the feeling for "Aktionsarten" and developing pure tenses at the expense of the "Aktionsarten;" the other tending to discriminate between the *Aktionsarten* and thus preserving

the feeling for them against the encroachment of the tense tendency.

Now these two facts 1) that the feeling for "Aktionsarten" was still alive and 2) that many verbs were losing their inherent "Aktionsforce" and taking on pure tense value gave rise to the circumscribed verb forms.

In the present paper we are concerned only with the Circumscriptions formed with the perfect participle and these arose from an effort to circumscribe the perfective "Aktionsart" (perfective-inchoative resultative).

The following examples will show that the "Aktionsarten" were circumscribed:

686 Tho uuard morgan cuman  
uuanum te thesero uueroldi. Tho bigunnun thea uuison man  
seggean iro suebanos:

Here *uuard cuman* and *bigunnun seggean* are parallel constructions conveying parallel ideas. An examination of the Heliand shows that *biginnan* is used only with durative verbs. Therefore, it was necessary in Old-Saxon to resort to some other means if one wanted to express with a perfective verb an idea parallel to *biginnan* and a durative infinitive. The author of the Heliand did this by using *uuerdan and the perfect participle*.

The above expression then means:

Morning entered into a state of being here (wurde ein da-seiender)  
the wise men began to tell. . .

Both constructions are, therefore, from a subjective point of view ingressive. Considering them objectively *uuard kuman* is composed of two perfective verbs *uuerdan* and *kuman*; *bigunnan seggean* is composed of a perfective verb *biginnan* and a durative verb *seggean*. Therefore, *uuard kuman* is a circumscription of the perfective ingressive "Aktionsart" and *bigunnan seggean* a circumscription of the perfective durative ingressive Aktionsart.

(It may be well to note here, that if *kuman* had preserved its full perfective force at the time of the Heliand, there would have been no need of this circumscription; *quam* alone could have expressed the perfective ingressive Aktionsart. C.f. Streitberg PBB 15 and Got. Elembch §249 and Anmerkg.2.

Furthermore if we consider *uuerdan* a durative perfective verb then *uard kuman* is also durative perfective ingressive.) Compare further the following:

3436 Uui quamun hier an moragan—endi tholodun hier manag te dage arabiðuuerco-C.  
 558 nio her er sulica cumana ni uurdun eri fon odrun thiodun  
 350 Forun thea bodon oðar all  
     thea fon them kesura *cumana uuuarun*  
     bodspaha uueros

In the case of *quamun* (3436) it is impossible for us to determine whether the Aktionart was felt or not.

*Cumana uurdun* (558) means: never before did such men become "such as are in the state of being here i.e. da-seiende." We must think only of the moment in which they entered into this state. We have here a circumscription of the perfective (durative) ingressive "Aktionsart."

*Cumana uuuarun* (350) means: these messengers who were "in the state of being here i.e. da-seiende." We have here a circumscription of the perfective (durative) effective Aktionsart. This form is not to be taken for a pluperfect tense as the German "waren gekommen."

In the case of transitive verbs we find the same attempt to circumscribe the "Aktionsarten," by means of an auxiliary and the perfect participle. Whether at first two different auxiliaries were used, as in the case of intransitive verbs, cannot be determined. One example would tempt us to assume as much:

41 endi al that sea bilihidan *egun* giuuarahetes endi giuahsanes—C

However, the verb *hebbian* would suffice for both perfective ingressive (i.e. to come into possession of something) and the perfective effective (i.e. to be in a state of having come into possession of something)

991 quad that he ina gicoranahabdi  
     selbo fon sinun rikea

he came into or was in a state of having come into possession of him as a chosen one i.e. had him as a chosen one (or merely chose him.)

In all these cases the perfect participle is inflected when inflection is required according to the general rule for adjective inflection. The perfect participle denotes state or condition

and the tense is determined by the tense of the auxiliary i.e. they are either present or preterit.

B. Development of pure Tense forms.

Originally there were but two tenses in Germanic, the present and the preterit. And the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" were present or preterit.

However, the tendency to develop tenses did not cease when once the "Aktionsarten" were circumscribed. It soon began to encroach upon these circumscribed forms. There were many cases in which the perfect participle was normally uninflected, and being uninflected it lost its close connection with the object or subject.

Now the difference between the perfective "Aktionsart" and a pure tense form consists merely in this, that the perfective "Aktionsart" emphasizes the point reached i.e. state attained and the tense denotes the action. Therefore, the perfect participle having lost its connection with the object or subject and consequently its adjective force, was felt to belong to the auxiliary; and not to denote state attained but action completed. Thus the perfect and pluperfect tenses began to be developed.

The first perfect and pluperfect tenses with hebbian were, of course, formed of transitive verbs; but the intransitive verbs soon began to follow in their wake. The transition from the perfect and pluperfect tense of a transitive verb to the perfect and pluperfect tense of an intransitive verb was perhaps as follows.

a) Transitive verb with neuter object.

3278 al hebbiu ik so gilestid

b) Verbs with pred. modifier of quantity or inner object.

465 the habda at them uuiha so filu uuintro endi sumaro  
gilibd an them liolta

c) Verbs with clause as object.

469 Im habda giuisid uualdandas craft  
langa huila, that hi ni mosta er thit lioh ageban

1984 Habda-gelerid thea liudi huo sie lof gode uuirkean scoldin.

d) Cases with a Gen. or Dat. object.

505 siu habde ira drohtine uuel githionod te thanca.

5330 Hie mid is uuordon habit dodes gisculdid: C

It is easy to see how such constructions, especially the verbs with inner object, would pave the way for any intransitive durative verb to form a perfect and pluperfect tense. The perfective verbs, of course, formed their perfect and pluperfect tenses with *uuesan*.

In the present presentation of the circumscribed forms we have disregarded Latin influence completely. While we do not discredit Latin influence entirely, still we fear that it may easily be exaggerated and overestimated. Moreover, if we can explain such phenomena as circumscribed verb forms on the ground of innate tendencies in the language itself, we feel that we are probably nearer the truth, than if we assume that they are a slavish imitation of a foreign construction. The fact that we find similar circumscriptions in other Indo-European languages would merely indicate that they are innate in all these languages. They may have been developed independently. One language affected another in this respect, probably no further than that it helped promote this tendency of circumscribing verb forms, after it had once been started in the other.

### III. Uses of the Circumscribed verb forms.

#### A. Circumscribed Aktionsarten.

It was said above that the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" owed their origin to the fact, that the tense tendency was encroaching upon the "Aktionsarten." It was also pointed out that the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" were very probably all perfective (durativ) ingressive, and perfective (durativ) effective. Therefore, the non-circumscribed forms must be either pure tense forms or perfectiv momentan. The circumscribed tense forms, which grew out of these circumscribed "Aktionsarten" are, of course, pure perfect and pluperfect tenses in the case of circumscriptions with *hebbian* and *uuesan*; and present and preterit tenses, in the case of circumscriptions with *uuerdan*.

A comparison will make clear the use of the circ. "Aktionsarten"

##### 1) Simple verb

*uuesan*:

3426 hiet thiem at erist geban  
 thia that lezt uuarun liudi cumana  
 uueros te them uuirke, endi mid is uuordon gibod  
 that man them mannon iro mieda forguldi

alles at aftan them thar quamun at erist tuo  
uuillendi te them uuerke.—C

*uuarun cumana* and *quamun* are parallel: the former denotes *were in a state of having come*, (perf. durat. effectiv), the latter denotes *came* and is a pure tense form or perfectiv momentan. The difference between the two forms is, therefore, merely a subjective one.

Compare: 563-565.

hebbian:

1199 cos im the cuninges thegn Crist te herran

4147 habdun ina gikoranan te thiу

cos is a mere tense form

habdun gikoranan is a circumscribed Aktionsart. The difference between the two forms is subjective.

uuerdan:

557 Ic gisiu that gi sind edilgiburdin

cunnies fon cnosle godun: nio her er sulica comana ni uurdun

eri fon odrun thiodun; sidor ik mosta thesas erlo folkes

giuualdan thesas uidon rikeas. Gi sculun mi te uuarun seggean  
for thesun liudo folke, bihuui gi sin te thesun lande cumana.

Tho spracun im eft teggenes gumon ostronea

uuardspae ueros: 'Uui thi te uuarun mugun' quadun sie. . . .

'bihuui uui quamun an thesan sid herod

fon ostan thesaro erdu'.

The difference between:

cumana uurdun

sin cumana (C cuman')

quamun

is a subjective one.

*uurdun cumana* denotes, became such as are in a state of being here. It is perf. ingressive.

*sin cumana* denotes are such as are in the state of being here. It is perf. effective.

*quamun* denotes merely came. It is either a pure tense form or it may be perf. momentan.

2) Compound verbs.

We need refer here only to our discussion of §186 in Behaghel's Syntax des Heliand and then consider the following examples:

(II A b 1)

1199 cos im thi cuninges thegn Crist te herran

1186 gecurun im thana neriandan Krist helagna te herron. C.f. 147

4147 habdun ina gicoranan te thiу

Here the author is again making a subjective distinction:

cos is a pure tense form,  
gicurun is perfect momentan, and  
habdun gicoranen is perfect (durative) effective.

### 3) Circumscribed tense forms.

It was stated above that the difference between the circumscribed "Aktionsart" and the circumscribed tense forms was a subjective difference; the circumscribed "Aktionsart" denoting state or condition, the circumscribed tense denoting completed action. Here we must point out a peculiarity in the use. We often meet with a sudden shift in point of view.

1957 So hue so iu than antfahit thurh ferhtan hugi,  
thurh mildean mod; so habad minan ford  
uuileon geuuarhthen endi oc uualdand god  
antfangan fader iuuuan,  
3526 thar uuerdat mina hendi gebundana  
fadmos uuerdad mi thar gefastnod.

Such sudden shifts in point of view must not cause us too much surprise. They are characteristic of the old writers. C.f. Kellner: Historic Outlines of English Syntax, § 9 "The syntax of older periods is natural, naïf, that is, it follows much more closely the drift of the ideas, of mental images; the diction, therefore, looks as if it were extempored, as if written on the spur of the moment, while modern syntax fettered by logic, is artificial, the result of literary tradition, and, therefore, far from being a true mirror of what is going on in the mind. . . ."

Also we would suggest as a possible explanation the fact that the author, being an ecclasiast or at least one versed in scriptures, was trying to imitate the parallelism in the Hebrew poetry of the psalms. Compare especially 3526-3527.

Furthermore the following might be referred to for comparison,

He was gone when I arrived  
He had gone " " "  
Die Tür wird geschlossen  
Die Tür ist geschlossen

These phrases merely indicate a shift in point of view in the author's mind.

We would also call attention to the following sentence taken from Raabe's *Der Hungerpastor* p 511. "(Der Brief) musste dem Poststempel zufolge, am vorigen Abend in den

*Briefkasten geworfen sein."* We certainly would expect *geworfen worden sein!*

We are well aware that since the Old-Saxon language is clearly in a transitional stage, there will be investigators who will challenge our method of procedure and our interpretation. For example, it will be pointed out to us that sentences like the following occur:

4405 Huan gisah thi man enig  
*bethuungen* an sulicun tharabun?  
 2150 than findis thu *gesund* at hus (C-*gesundan!*)  
*magoiungan* man

Here *bethuungen* and *gesund* are uninflected. However, such cases are so rare that they can hardly be considered as the regular practice. They are rather to be considered as the exception. Furthermore, would it not be possible to regard—*bethuungen*—as purely temporal and not as denoting state? In that case it would denote completed action and not state attained. This would account for the lack of inflection, namely on analogy of the perfect participle in the circumscribed *tense* forms. As to—*gesund*—(if indeed M is the correct reading), we may assume that here the adjective is loosing its inflection and following in the wake of the uninflected perfect participle. At any rate we cannot see that such cases militate against our method of procedure.

As to our interpretation of the circumscribed verb forms and our explanation of the sudden shift from one form to another, we would refer to our present day use of the perfect and the preterit tenses. We know of no rule that marks definitely the distinction between these two tenses, and we often meet with a sudden shift from one to the other owing to a change of point of view in the author's mind. Considering the fact that the distinction between the circumscribed *Aktionssart* and the circumscribed tenses was much more subtle than the distinction between the preterit and the perfect tenses is today, and the fact that the perfect tense was just being developed and that it had no literary tradition behind it, we need not marvel that the author is subjective in his use of these forms.

#### B. Circumscribed tense forms.

The tense value of the perfect and the pluperfect in Old-Saxon corresponds to our modern English perfect and plu-

perfect. Their use as compared with that of the preterit is also the same as in modern English.

1) There is a subjective difference between the perfect and the pluperfect as compared with the preterit. The perfect and pluperfect denote completed action with reference to the present or past. The preterit denotes merely past action.

5710 all so is uuillio *geng*  
endī hie *habda* *gimarcod* er manno cunnie—C.

2) Sometimes the preterit is used in place of the perfect or the pluperfect just as in modern English (Kellner §366 §373), due to a survival of the original use of the preterit, at a time when there were only two tenses and the preterit performed the function of the perfect and the pluperfect. We are concerned with this question here only in so far as it furnishes further proof for the fact that the use of the tenses is a subjective matter.

In the following cases the preterit is probably used for the perfect:

1) Simple verb:

2151 mod is imu an luston,  
that barn is gehelid, so thu *bedi* te mi C.f. 523 *bidun*

2) Compound verb:

3254 Nu ik thi sulica giuuald *fargaf*  
that thu mines hiuiskes herost uuaris,  
mannages mannkunnies, nu scalt thu im mildi uesan  
liudiuun lithi.

In the following cases we should probably prefer the pluperfect:

1) Simple verb:

5873 Thuo urthun oc an this burg cumana  
Iudeono uuardos thia oþar themo græbe *satun* alla langa naht.—C  
C.f. 5876 quamun 4724 uuas 4934 uuas

2) Compound verb:

5947 Thuo uuarth thiæ helago Crist  
eft opanlicoo oder sithu  
drohtin gitogid, sithor hie fan dode *astuod*,—C  
C.f. 4996 gesprak, 3609 giscop, 2293 auuohs

This list is not intended to be exhaustive. These few examples have merely been given to show that the preterit can be used for the perfect and the pluperfect tense.

From the above presentation it is clear that the use of the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" as compared with the tenses, and the use of the circumscribed tenses as compared with the simple preterit form is subjective.

## PART II. BEOWULF

The Heliand was written about 830. The manuscript of the Beowulf is usually accepted to have been made in the eleventh century, though the individual poems of which it consists were composed some centuries before.

Now to appreciate the comparison, which we are going to make, we must bear in mind:

I. The Saxons who went to "England" with the Angles in about 450 spoke Saxon just as well as their brothers and sisters and relatives who stayed behind on the continent. They did not change their language as soon as they set foot on the island. They employed the same vocabulary and the same grammatical constructions as their Saxon relatives on the continent. Their language had the same innate tendencies as that of their fellow Saxons in Saxony. Therefore, if conditions had been identically the same on the island as on the continent, the Saxon dialect in "England" and the Saxon dialect on the continent would have developed in identically the same way.

II. Conditions on the island, however, were not the same as on the continent. Without mentioning the many other factors which may influence the course of development of a language, we need point out here only the one fact, that Saxon came in contact with another language. Though, to be sure, it almost completely supplanted the other language, nevertheless we cannot assume that it did not experience some influence.

III. Our present manuscript of the Beowulf was made about two hundred years later than the manuscript of the Heliand. And in general the language of the Beowulf shows a later stage of development than the language of the Heliand.

Turning to the Beowulf now, we find that the circumscribed verb forms offer at first sight a very bewildering and complexing aspect. And, indeed, a study of the beowulf alone would not enable us to ascertain the fundamental principles that govern

the formation and use of the circumscribed verb forms and their origin.

We can, however, understand them if we compare them with the circumscribed verb forms in Old-Saxon. Though we may detect some differences between the circumscribed verb forms in Old-Saxon and those in the Beowulf, still the similarity between them in general is so clear that we can easily discover that they are due to the same causes and the same tendencies.

An examination of the Beowulf shows that

I. the state of the circumscribed verb forms in Anglo-Saxon is, with some modifications the same as that of Old-Saxon; for we find

1, that the method of circumscription is the same. The same auxiliaries are employed: *habban*, *wesan*, *weorthan*.

#### Active

##### *weorthan*:

824 Denum eallum *weard*  
 äfter þam wäl-raese willa *gelumpen* (perhaps passive)

1233 þaer wäs symbla cyst,  
 druncon win weras: wyrd ne cuðon,  
 geō-sceaft grimme, swa hit *agangen weard*  
 eorla manegum, syððan aefen cwom  
 and him Hrodgar gewat to hofe sinum,  
 rice to räste.

##### *wesan*:

361 Her *syndon* geferede feorran *cumene*  
 ofer geofenes begang Geata leode:  
 þone yldestan oret-mecgas Beowulf namnað

3078 Oft sceall eorl monig anes willan  
 wraec adreogan, swa us *geworden is*

2726 (wisse he gearwe  
 þät he däg-hwila gedrogen häfde  
 eordan wynne; þa wäs eall *sceacen*  
 dogor-gerimes, dead ungemete neah)

##### *habban*:

202 þone sid-fät him snotere ceorlas  
 lyt-hwon logon, þeah he him leof waere;  
 hwetton higerofne, hael seawedon.  
*Häfde* se goda Geata leoda  
 cempan *gecorone*, þara þe he cenoste  
 findan mihte;

940 nu scealc *hafad*  
 Durh drihtnes miht daed *gefremede*,

þe we ealle aer ne meahton  
snyttrum besyrwan.

104 fifel-cynnes eard  
won-saelig wer weardode hwile,  
siddan him scyppend *forscrifen hafde*.  
407 Wes þu Hrodgar hal! ic eom Higelaces  
maeg and mago-þegen; *hæbbe* ic maerda fela  
*ongunnen* on gegorde.

**Passive:**

**weorthan:**

1240 benc-þelu beredon, hit *geond-braeded weard*  
beddum and bolstrum.

**wesan:**

1821 *Waeron* her tela  
willum *bewenede*; þu us wel dohatest.

Therefore, the method of formation of the circumscribed forms is the same in the Beowulf as in Old-Saxon.

2. Position of the perfect participle.

The position of the perfect participle is unsettled in Anglo-Saxon just the same as it was found to be in Old-Saxon.

**wesan:**

361 Her syndon geferede, feorran cumene. . . . Geata leode  
Aux.- part-subj.

1137 þa wäss winter scacen . . . .  
Aux-subj-part.

**habban:**

408 hæbbe ic maerða fela ongunnen. . . .  
h-obj-part

2382 häfdon hy forhealden helm. . . .  
h-part-obj.

2708 and hi hyne þa begen abroten häfdon  
obj-part-h.

**weorthan:**

2962 þær weard Ongenþio ecgum sweorda,  
blonden-fexa on bid wrecan  
Aux-subj-part.

3062 þa sio faehð geweard  
gewrecen wradlice  
subj-aux-part.

413 siddan aefen-leoht  
under heofenes hador beholen weorded.  
subj-part-aux.

Hence it is clear that the position of the perfect participle is not fixed but is free, just the same as in Old-Saxon.

### 3) Inflection of perfect participle

In Old-Saxon it was found that the inflection of the perfect participle was not due to the position of the perfect participle; nor could it be said that a certain class of verbs was always inflected and others not. The inflection was due rather to a subjective difference between the inflected and the uninflected form.

The following table will show in what positions the inflected and the uninflected perfect participle occur in the Beowulf. To be sure, only those cases are considered in which the perfect participle should normally be inflected according to the general rule for adjective inflection.

	Inflected	Uninflected
weorthan	none	none
wesan		
361 <i>syndon geferede feorran cumene</i>	388 <i>sint wil-cuman</i> <sup>11</sup>	
	<i>leode</i>	
1000 <i>heorras tohlide</i>		
1247 <i>waeron gearwe (adj?)</i>		
1821 <i>waeron bewenede</i>		
habban		
205 <i>häfde cempan gecorone</i>	2381 <i>häfdon forhealden helm</i>	
940 <i>hafad daed gefremede</i>	3047 <i>häfde edne genyttod</i>	
	104 <i>him forscriften häfde</i>	
	1295 <i>anne häfde befangen</i>	

These examples are, indeed, too few in number to enable us to detect any underlying principle regarding the inflection and the non-inflection of the perfect participle. However, in Old-Saxon we found that the inflection and the non-inflection of the perfect participle involved a subjective difference. Therefore, since Anglo-Saxon and Old-Saxon are related as they are, and since we can discover no other principle in Anglo-Saxon that would explain the inflection and the non-inflection of the participles we may safely assume that the same principle obtained in both languages; namely that the inflection and the non-inflection of the perfect participle involve a subjective difference.

<sup>11</sup>Probably a semi-technical term.

## 4) Tense Value

It was found in Old-Saxon that, wherever the perfect participle was inflected, it was felt as an adjective belonging to the noun and the tense of the circumscribed form was determined by the tense of the auxiliary. Wherever, on the other hand, the perfect participle was not inflected, though in accordance with the general rule for adjective inflection, we should expect inflection, it was felt as belonging to the verb and the circumscribed verb form was a pure tense form i.e. the ones with hebbian and uuesan were perfect and pluperfect tenses, the ones with uuerdan were present or preterit. The difference between the circumscribed verb form with inflected participle and the circumscribed verb form with uninflected perfect participle was merely a subjective one; the former denoting state or condition attained, the latter denoting completed action.

There were many cases in which we found a surprising sudden shift from the one to the other in the same sentence. This, however, we concluded was characteristic to the style of the older authors. They were more subjective and naif in their style than the modern writers, who are hampered by grammatical rules and literary tradition.

The following table will give a list of all the cases in which the perfect participle is inflected and of all the cases, in which the perfect participle is not inflected, though according to the general rule for adjective inflection we should expect it to be inflected. The cases in which the participle would normally not be inflected are, of course, disregarded here.

Active	<i>Inflected</i>	<i>Uninflected</i>
weorthan:	none	none
wesan:		
361    her syndon cumene	388    sint wil-cuman	
habban:		
205    häfde cempan gecorone	104    him forscrifен häfde	
940    hafad daed gefremede	665    häfde sele-weard aseted	
	1294    anne häfde befangen	
	1341    hafad faehde gestaeled	
	1473    hine gegyred häfde	

1600	hine abroten häfde
2322	häfde land-wara befangen
2381	häfdon forhealden helm
2454	hafad daeda gefondad
2707	hyne abroten häfdon
2725	däg-hwila gedrogen häfde eordan wynne
3047	häfde ende genyttd
3076	häfde est gesceawod
826	häfde gefaelsod sele genered
829	häfde gilp gelaested

### Passive

weorthan:

none

none

wesan:

361 syndon geferede  
 1000 heorras tohlide  
 1821 waeron bewenede  
 1247 waeron gearwe (adj?)

These few examples would not enable us to detect any underlying principle, especially in a case of this kind, which involves a subjective distinction. However, a few facts can be detected and these together with a comparison of conditions in Old-Saxon will help us arrive at an understanding of the circumscribed verb forms in Anglo-Saxon.

1. We find pure perfect and pluperfect tenses of intransitive verbs with *habban* in Anglo-Saxon:

2631 hie gegan häfdon.

Such forms show an advanced stage of tense formation, and, therefore, we know that perfect and pluperfect tenses actually did exist in Anglo-Saxon.

2. The perfect participle of *cuman* does not take the prefix *gi-*. Neither did it in Old-Saxon.

3. The perfect participle of *cuman* and *kiosan* tend towards the inflected form. The same was true in Old-Saxon.

4. Adjectives inflect the same as in Old-Saxon.

446 ac he me habban wile dreore dahne Anglo-Sax

1523 The namun ina wrede man so gebundanan Old-Saxon

Thus we see that conditions in Anglo-Saxon were the same as conditions in Old-Saxon. Hence, we can infer that the difference between the circumscribed form with inflected and the circumscribed form with uninflected perfect participle was also the same. Wherever the participle is inflected it is felt as an adjective belonging to the noun and the circumscribed form denotes state or condition and is *present* or *preterit*; wherever it is uninflected it is felt as belonging to the verb and the circumscribed form denotes completed action and is *perfect* or *pluperfect* in the case of *habban* and *wesan*; and *present* in the case of *weordan*. The difference between the two circumscriptions is therefore a subjective one.

We need not discuss all the examples. A few will suffice to prove this statement.

1821 Waeron her tela  
 willum bewendede; þu us wel dohtest.  
*waeron bewenede* and *dohtest* are same tense; therefore  
 preterit (were kindly served, you treated us well)

205 Hæfde se goda Geata leoda  
 cempan gecorone, þara þe he cenoste  
 findan mihte  
 had of the Goths people chosen companions (i.e. chose companions, so  
 that he had them as chosen ones in his possession)

940 Nu scealc hafad  
 þurh drihtnes miht daed gefremede  
 þe we ealle aer ne meahton  
 snytrum besyrwan.  
 Now this warrior has a deed performed; not has performed a deed. (present)

361 Her syndon geferede feorran cumene  
 ofer geofenes begang Geata leode  
 Hither are borne come from afar over ocean's course people of the Goths.  
 (present)

1339 and nu oder cwom  
 mihtig man-scāða wolde hyre maeg wrecan  
 ge feor hafad faeðe gestaeled,  
 and now is come another mighty fell destroyer who would her son avenge  
 she far off has established warfare. (perfect-c.f. 2453 and others)

666 *Hæfde* kyninga wuldor  
 Grendle to-geanes, swa guman gefrungon,  
 sels-weard aseted Pluperfect.

## II. Origin of the Circumscribed verb forms.

In our study of the Heliand we believe to have been able to show that the circumscribed verb forms were due to an

effort to maintain the perfective "Aktionsart" (perfective, inchoativ, resultativ) against the encroachment of the tense tendency in the Old-Saxon language. The result was that the perfective "Aktionsart" was circumscribed with *hebbian*, *uuesan* and *uuerdan*. From these circumscriptions of the perfective "Aktionsart" the circumscribed tenses were developed. We also showed how the intransitive durative verbs come to take *hebbian*; while the intransitive perfective verbs took *uuesan* in the circumscribed tenses.

Now if we find that the author of the *Beowulf* discriminates in the same way in his choice of the auxiliary for perfective and durative verbs, we can assume that these circumscriptions owe their origin to the same causes.

The following table will give a summary of all the intransitive verbs in the *Beowulf*.<sup>2</sup>

	<i>Perfective intransitive</i>	<i>Durative intransitive</i>
734	alumpen wäs	
2728	wäs sceacen (1137-1125-2307)	
360	syndon cumene (275-388)	
	.....	.....
		2631 gegan häfdon
		220 gewaden häfde
		2105 geseten häfdon
		1551 häfde forsiðod
		1856 hafast gefered thaet (1221)
3079	swa us geworden is (1305)	.....
2821	wäs gegongen (821-3036)	2027 hafad geworden thaet 894 häfde gegongen thaet .....

The examples given above show that perfective verbs take *wesan*, *alimpan*, *sceacan*, *cuman*, *weorthan*; durative verbs take *habban*, *gan*, *gewadan*, *gesittan*, *forsithian*, *geferan*.

<sup>2</sup> E. Classen says in his "History of the English Language," (London 1919) pp. 28-29: "In the compound tenses Old-English used the auxiliaries *haban* 'to have' and *wesan* 'to be.' Intransitives were conjugated with *wesan* and transitives with *haban*."

This statement undoubtedly needs revision.

A few cases need special attention:

3079 geworden is, and 1305 was geworden are regular, according to the rule that perfective verbs take wesan. In line 2027, however, we find hafad geworden. The use of habban may be explained on the following grounds,

1) Any verb may contain perfective or durative meaning (Behaghel §186). Therefore, in these circumscribed forms the author will use either wesan or habban according as he wishes to express the perfective or the durative force.

2) the verb weordan is used here in the sense of appear to, seem proper. It is used in a transferred or unusual sense and, therefore, we may assume that it has lost its perfective force. Hence the use of habban.

1855 hafast gefered (1221) and 894 häfde gegongen are regular in as much as both are durative verbs and are here inclining towards transitive sense. 2821 wäs gegongen (821-3036) is probably derived from gegan and is therefore perfective.

In 1550, häfde forsiodod is either felt to be durative or it shows that habban is usurping the place of wesan.

Thus we can detect the same underlying principle as in Old-Saxon. Therefore, we can conclude that the circumscribed verb forms in Anglo-Saxon originated in the same way as those in Old-Saxon, namely from an effort to circumscribe the perfective "Aktionsart."

However, it would seem that the Aktionsarten were not so distinctly felt in Anglo-Saxon as in Old-Saxon; for

1) geweorðan occurs in the place of weorðan in the circumscribed verb forms:

3062 þa sio faehð geweard gewrecen wradice

2) Circumscriptions with weorðan are rare, or may be said to be dying out and supplanted by wesan:

1311 Hrade wäs to bure Beowulf fetod sigor-eadig secg.

643 þa wäs eft swa aer inne on healle

þryð-word sprecen

1400 þa wäs Hrodgare hors gebaeted,  
wicg wunden-feax.

1630 þa wäs of þām hroran helm and byrne  
lungre alysed.

3) habban seems to be infringing upon wesan wherever the Aktionsart is not clearly felt:

2027 hafad geworden

## III. Use of the Circumscribed Verb Forms.

## 1. Circumscribed Aktionsart

In Old-Saxon it was seen that the use of the circumscribed "Aktionsarten" as compared with the pure tenses was determined by the subjective point of view of the author. That the same principle holds true for Anglo-Saxon can be seen from the following:

## Simple verb

569 Leoht eastan *com*,  
beorht beacan godes; brimu swadredon,  
þaet ic sae-nässas geseon mihte,  
windige weallas.

## Compound verb

115 Gewat þa neosian, siddan niht *becom*,  
hean huses, hu hit Hring-Dene  
äfter beor-þege gebun häfdon.

## Circumscribed Aktionsart

361 Her syndon geferede feorran cumene  
ofer geofenes þegang Geata leode:

Com in 596 is probably merely a tense form; becom in 115 is probably perfectiv momentan; syndon cumene is perfectiv (durativ) effectiv.

Compare also the following transitive verb:

2819 aer he bael *cure*—before he chose the pile (pure tense) (wählte)  
2639 he usic on herge *geceas* to þyssum sid-fate—he chose us in his band for  
this expedition (perf. momentan) (erwählte)  
205 hafde cempa gecorone—he chose companions so that he had them.  
(Perf. effect or ingress.)

The difference between the circumscribed Aktionsart and the circumscribed tense form is also subjective:

940 Nu scealc hafad  
þurh drihtnes miht daed gefremede,  
þe we ealle aer ne meahton  
snyttrum besyrwan.  
2451 Symble bid gemyndgad morna gehwylce  
eaforan ellorsid; odres ne gyned  
to gebidanne burgum on innan  
yrfe-weardes, þonne se an hafad  
þurh deaðes nyd daeda gefondad.  
—940 Now this warrior *has* through the Lord's might a deed *performed*  
which we all ere could not with cunning machinate.  
2451 ever will he be reminded every morning of his offspring's death; another  
heir he dares not await within his burghs when the one has through  
death's necessity expiated his deeds.

The difference between these two sentences is, I take it, the same as between:

I have the letter written and  
I have written the letter.

## 2. Circumscribed Tenses.

Just as in Old-Saxon, so the tense value of the perfect and pluperfect in Anglo-Saxon correspond to the perfect and pluperfect tenses in modern English. Their use as compared with the preterit is also the same as in modern English.

a) There is a subjective difference between the perfect and the pluperfect as compared with the preterit. The perfect and pluperfect denote completed action with reference to the present or the past. The preterit denotes merely past action.

1187 hwät wit to willan and to word-myndum  
umbor wesendum aer arna *gefremedon* (did-performed)  
474 hwät me Grendel *hafad*  
hyndo on Heorote mid his hete-þancum  
faer-niða *gefremed* (has done)  
104 fifel-cynnes eard  
won-saelig wer weardode hwile,  
siððan him scyppend *forscrifen häfde*  
375 is his eafora nu  
heard her cumen, sohte holdne wine.  
(is come (-for-)he sought)

b) Sometimes the preterit is used in place of the perfect and the pluperfect.

Preterit for perfect:

656 Naefre ic aenegum men aer *alyfde*,  
siððan ic hond and rond hebban mihte  
þryð-ärn Dena buton þe nuþa.  
(Never have I to any before entrusted. . . . )

Preterit for pluperfect.

1978 Gesät þa wid sylfne se þa säcce genäs,  
maeg wið maege, siððan man-dryhten  
þurh hleodor-cwyde holdne gegrette  
meaglum wordum. (had come—had greeted)  
227 gode þancedon,  
þas þe him yd-lade eaðe *wurdon*. had been (become)—geworden waren.  
692 Naenig heora þohte þät he þanon scolde  
eft eard-lufan aefre gescecean,  
folc odde freo-burh, þær he afeded wäs,  
ac he häfdon gefrunen, þät hie aer to fela micles

in þām win-sele wäl-daed *fornam*, (had taken)  
Denigea leode.

C.f. 2160 hæfde—2174 geaf.

**Results:**

In summing up the results, we must bear in mind that the Beowulf is a poem and that the language is in a transitional stage. As a consequence, a circumscribed form may occasionally be used in place of a simple or a compound verb; or a simple or compound verb in place of a circumscribed form. However, the general elegance of the poem would constrain us to believe that such cases are very rare. Our results are as follows:

- I. State of the circumscribed verb form in the Beowulf.
  1. We find circumscriptions consisting of the perfect participle and some form of the verbs *habban*, *weorðan*, *wesan*.
  2. The position of the perfect participle is not determined by any syntactical rule. It may occur before or after the subject or object and before or after the auxiliary.
  3. The inflection of the perfect participle is not dependent upon its position in the sentence; nor can it be said that it is due to the nature of the verb *per se*. It is due rather to a subjective difference in the point of view of the author.
  4. As to the tense value, the circumscribed forms with inflected participle are present or preterit and denote state or condition. The forms with uninflected participle and *habban* and *wesan* (in those cases in which we should expect inflection according to the general rule for adjective inflection) are perfect and pluperfect and denote completed action. The forms with *weorðan* and the uninflected participle are present or preterit and differ from the form with inflected participle in so far as they denote completed action while the form with inflected participle denotes state or condition. The cases in which the perfect participle would normally be uninflected we did not discuss here. They can be determined only from the context or by "Satzmelodik."

## II. Origin of the circumscribed verb forms.

The circumscribed verb forms arose from an effort to maintain the perfective "Aktionsart" against the encroachment of the tense tendency. From these circumscriptions of the perfective "Aktionsart" the circumscribed tenses arose. As a consequence the circumscribed tenses (perfect and pluperfect) of intransitive perfective verbs took *wesan*; the intransitive durative verbs and all transitive verbs took *habban*. In the Passive the circumscribed forms with *weorðan* became pure present and preterit forms, the circumscribed forms with *wesan* became perfect and pluperfect. However, the "Aktionsarten" are not so clearly felt in Anglo-Saxon as they were in Old-Saxon. *Weorðan* seems to be dying out and to be replaced by *wesan*. *Habban* is intruding upon *wesan* wherever the "Aktionsart" is not distinctly felt.

## III. Use of the circumscribed verb forms.

1. The use of the circumscribed "Aktionsart" as compared with the simple and the compound verb and the circumscribed tense forms is determined by the subjective point of view of the author.
2. The use of the circumscribed verb forms as compared with the simple preterit form is also subjective.
  - a) The perfect and the pluperfect denote completed action with reference to the present or the past.  
The preterit denotes past action.
  - b) The preterit is sometimes used in place of the perfect or the pluperfect.

GEORGE F. LUSSKY

*University of Minnesota*

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Streitberg, Perfektive und imperfektive Aktionsart im Germanischen  
P B B XV, 70.

Streitberg, Gotisches Elementarbuch § 290 ff.

Paul, Perfektive und durative verba.—München 1902.

Wustmann, Verba perfektiva, namentlich im Heliand, Leipzig, 1894.

Behaghel, Syntax des Heliand, Leipzig 1897.

Caro G., Das Englische Perfectum und Praeteritum in ihrem Verhaeltnis zu einander historisch untersucht. Anglia 21, 1898-1899 pp. 56-88.

Caro G., Zur Lehre vom altenglischen Perfektum, Anglia 18, 1895/96 pp. 389 ff.

Hesse, Perfective und imperfective Aktionsart im alt-englischen  
Diss. Münster 1906.

Draat P. Fijn van, The Loss of the prefix *ge*-in the modern English verb and  
some of its consequences  
Engl. Stud. 32, 353, 1903.

Belden H. M., Perfective *ge*-in Old-English *bringan* and *gibringan*  
Engl. Stud. 32, 366, 1903.

Lorz A. Aktionsarten des Verbums im Beowulf Würzburg 1908.

Steadman J. M. The Origin of the Historical Present in English  
Studies in Philology 16, 1907.

Classen E. History of the English Language, London 1919.

Lindroth H., Zur Lehre von den Aktionsarten  
P. B. B. 31, 239 ff. 1905/1906.

Sargeant J., A Loss to the English Language  
The Nation June 18, 1921.

Smith C. O. Old English Grammer 1903

Onions C. J., An advanced English Syntax. London 1911.

Sievers, E., Angel-Sächsische Grammatik. Halle, 1898.

Müller Th., Angel-Sächsische Grammatik. Göttingen, 1883.

Sievers Heliand, Halle A. S. 1878. All citation from the Heliand, are taken  
from "M," unless they are marked "C."

Heyne M. Beowulf Paderhorn, 1879.

Deutschbein, M. Die Einteilung der Aktionsarten. Engl. Stud. 1920, Vol. 54,  
p. 80.

Deutschbein, M. Das System der neuengl. Syntax. Pollak, H. W., Studien  
zum germanischen verb. I. Über Aktionsarten—P.B.B. XLIV, S353-425,  
Cöthen, 1917.